565 A common device among noble families was to vary the second
553 character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general
[556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited
208 by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs?
212 First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers
[461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered
[565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no
[963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and complaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Matsuda both are operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition, there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding, possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many [875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, [358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression [927] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most [927] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal esti- [465] mated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting [435] salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realisation 191 555

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555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

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194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is
[214] taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that
[197] until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books,
876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

[4] It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese
624 administration to effect greater control over families through the warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. Education and experience in the outside world are the most important qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we